

Message Text

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70

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C O N F I D E N T I A L NICOSIA 674

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, CY

SUBJECT: MAKARIOS ON CURRENT ISSUES

SUMMARY: ARCHBISHOP PREDICTS OSORIO WILL SHORTLY FIND SATISFACTORY FORMULA TO PERMIT RESUMPTION OF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS. ARCHBISHOP IS PESSIMISTIC AS TO PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS, THINKS THAT WE SHOULD KNOW BY JUNE OR JULY. IF THEY FAIL, HE SEES A CONTINUATION OF THE STATUS QUO. IF THEY SHOULD SUCCEED, HE IS STILL TOYING WITH THE IDEA OF GETTING REVISIONS IN THE 1960 TREATIES, BUT RECOGNIZES THE EXPLOSIVE POTENTIAL OF THIS QUESTION. HE DISMISSES ANKARA/ATHENS "COLLUSION", SAYS HE IS NOT NOW CONCERNED THAT ATHENS PLANS VIOLENCE. SAYS HE WILL RETIRE IN 1975. REMARK ON LOCAL ELECTIONS MAKES CLEAR THAT HE AND CLERIDES ARE STILL AT LOGGERHEADS. END SUMMARY

1. PRESIDENT MAKARIOS REVIEWED WITH CHARGE A WIDE RANGE

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OF CURRENT ISSUES. HE WAS AS USUAL A SUPERB AND CONTROLLED

PERFORMER, BUT HE CONVEYED AN IMPRESSION OF WEARINESS I HAVE NOT HERETOFORE SEEN IN HIM.

2. INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS: MAKARIOS INSISTED THEY HAD NOT SUSPENDED THE TALKS, BUT HAD SIMPLY DEFERRED THEM IN ORDER TO CLARIFY TURKISH INTENTIONS ONCE ECEVIT HAD ELEVATED "FEDERALISM" FROM A DESIRE TO A REQUIREMENT. MAKARIOS VOLUNTEERED THAT HE DID NOT EXPECT ECEVIT TO GO BACK ON HIS WORDS, BUT SAID HE HAD MADE CLEAR TO DEPUTY UNSYG GUYER THAT AN AGREED FORMULA MUST BE DEVELOPED AS TO THE OBJECTIVE OF THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS. THE FORMULA MUST SHOW THEY ARE SEEKING A SOVEREIGN, INDEPENDENT AND UNITARY STATE, BUT IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO USE CONTROVERSIAL WORDS. HE BELIEVED THAT OSORIO WILL BE ABLE TO COME UP WITH SUCH A FORMULA SHORTLY, AND THAT THE TALKS WOULD RESUME WITHIN A FEW WEEKS.

3. MAKARIOS THOUGHT IT WOULD BE CLEAR BY JUNE OR JULY WHETHER THE TALKS WOULD SUCCEED OR NOT. AFTER THAT, HOWEVER, THERE WOULD STILL BE MUCH DETAILED DRAFTING TO BE DONE. IF THE TALKS FAILED, THE QUESTION WAS WHERE TO GO FROM THERE, AND ALL MAKARIOS COULD VOLUNTEER WAS THAT NEITHER SIDE WANTED VIOLENCE, AND THEY WOULD HAVE TO CONTINUE WITH THE STATUS QUO. HE DID NOT RAISE THE POSSIBILITY OF THEIR SUCCEEDING UNTIL I MYSELF RAISED THE QUESTION. THEN HE SAID THAT HE WAS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT SUCCESS. IF, HOWEVER, THE INTERLOCUTORS ARRIVED AT AN UNDERSTANDING, AND IF HE COULD ACCEPT AND ENDORSE IT, HE THOUGHT THAT ATHENS WOULD BE HAPPY TO ALLOW THEM TO SUCCEED, AND THAT THEY WOULD CONTROL THE ULTRA-RIGHT PRESS IN CYPRUS ENOUGH TO AVOID SERIOUS EMBARRASSMENT TO HIM.

4. MAKARIOS AGREED WITH THE ASSESSMENT THAT HE HIMSELF DID NOT PARTICULARLY NEED AN AGREEMENT, POLITICALLY, AND THAT IT WOULD POSE CERTAIN ECONOMIC COSTS AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS FOR HIM IF THE POINT OF SUCCESS WERE ACTUALLY REACHED.

5. INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF A SETTLEMENT: I REMINDED THE ARCHBISHOP OF HIS PERIODIC REMARKS THAT THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS WOULD NEED TO BE ADDRESSED IN SOME SEPARATE FORUM. I ASKED WHETHER HE LOOKED UPON A SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF CONFIDENTIAL

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THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS AS A CONDITION FOR HIS ENDORSEMENT OF ANY CONSTITUTIONAL SOLUTION. IN RESPONDING, MAKARIOS AVOIDED THE USE OF THE WORD "CONDITION". HE DID NOT DEMUR FROM MY COMMENT THAT TURKEY IS PROBABLY CONSIDERABLY MORE INSISTENT UPON RESERVING ITS TREATY RIGHTS THAN UPON THE IDEA OF A FEDERALIST CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENT HERE, AND THAT AN EFFORT TO RAISE THOSE RIGHTS WOULD PROBABLY STOP FURTHER PROGRESS. HE TWICE INSISTED THAT THE ASPECT OF THE

1960 TREATIES WHICH HE MOST WISHED TO CHANGE WAS THE PRESENCE OF THE GREEK AND TURKISH CONTINGENTS. HE RECOGNIZED THAT THEIR IMMEDIATE DEPARTURE WAS PROBABLY NOT IN THE CARDS, BUT HE SAID THAT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO WORK OUT SOME FORMULA SUGGESTING THEY COULD BE WITHDRAWN AFTER A CERTAIN PERIOD IF STABILITY PREVAILED. (NOTE: AT LEAST IT CAN BE SAID THAT THE ARCHBISHOP IS WELL AWARE OF THE EXPLOSIVE POTENTIAL OF ATTEMPTING TO REVISE THE 1960 INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS, AND OF THE PRESSURES WHICH WOULD FOCUS UPON HIM IF HE RAISED THE ISSUE.)

6. ATHENS INTENTIONS: MAKARIOS IMMEDIATELY DISMISSED THE IDEA OF ANKARA/ATHENS COLLUSION AGAINST HIM, AND HE SAID THAT HE IS NOT NOW CONCERNED THAT ATHENS PLANS VIOLENCE ON CYPRUS. HE CITED THE DUALITY OF ATHENS' POLICY. ON THE ONE HAND, THEY WANT HIM TO REACH AN AGREEMENT, AND PRESUMABLY SHOULD WANT HIM TO BE STRONG ENOUGH TO BE ABLE TO DO SO. HE THOUGHT ATHENS FOREIGN MINISTRY UNDERSTOOD THIS, AND THAT HE WAS APPROACHING SOME UNDERSTANDING WITH PAPADOPOULOS BEFORE THE REGIME CHANGED. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE WAS BITTER ABOUT IOANNIDES AND THE TOUGH LINE WHICH HE BELIEVES IOANNIDES IS TAKING WITH EOKA-B TYPES WHO VISIT HIM. AS USUAL, MAKARIOS WAS EXTREMELY BITTER ABOUT BEHAVIOUR OF NATIONAL GUARD OFFICERS AND SUGGESTED THAT HE MIGHT CUT THE PERIOD OF SERVICE OF CONSCRIPTS TO A YEAR, TO LIMIT THEIR EXPOSURE TO THOSE OFFICERS' INDOCTRINATION.

7. THE SUCCESSION ISSUE: MAKARIOS SAID "HE WILL DEFINITELY RETIRE IN 1975." I ASKED HIM WHAT COULD BE DONE TO PROVIDE FOR A SMOOTH SUCCESSION, SINCE IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES THE CENTER IS FRAGMENTED AND A RIGHT/LEFT CONFRONTATION A REAL DANGER. HE REMARKED THAT, SO LONG AS HE IS ALIVE, HE COULD AVOID THIS PROBLEM, BUT HE WOULD NOT BE DRAWN OUT CONCERNING THE SUCCESSION OR HOW HE WOULD ARRANGE IT. (NOTE: HE HAS CONFIDENTIAL

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REASON TO BE CAUTIOUS SINCE ANY EFFORT TO ORGANIZE CENTER IN HIS OWN BEHALF WOULD ALIENATE CERTAIN PARTS OF IT, PLUS THE LEFT. THE ITEM BELOW SUGGESTS THAT IN FACT HE IS FAR FROM SOLVING THIS DILEMMA.)

8. LOCAL ELECTIONS: MAKARIOS SPOKE AS IF THE LOCAL ELECTIONS WILL GO FORWARD IN JUNE. HE SAID THAT THESE COULD BE RUN WITHOUT A PARTY FIGHT IF NON-POLITICAL FIGURES WERE NOMINATED WHO WERE PLEDGED TO SUPPORT THE GOVT. (NOTE: IN CYPRUS SHORTHAND, HE IS SAYING HE IS STILL AT LOGGERHEADS WITH CLERIDES. THE UNITED PARTY IS NOT WILLING TO BECOME SIMPLY A PRO-GOVT PARTY, AND WOULD RATHER NOMINATE INDIVIDUALS WITHOUT THE PLEDGE. MAKARIOS MADE SOME NOISES ABOUT THE FACT HE CANT GET SUPPORT FROM A COALITION OF RIGHTISTS AND LEFTISTS, WHO WILL COOPERATE IN SUPPORT OF HIM. THIS IS

A THREAT TO WHICH CLERIDES HAS REFERRED, THAT MAKARIOS WOULD ORGANIZE HIS OWN COALITION TO PUT UP CANDIDATES AGAINST THE UNITED PARTY AND PROGRESSIVE FRONT IF THEY WILL NOT PLEDGE SUPPORT TO HIM. CLERIDES BELIEVES THAT THE PRINCIPAL REASON MAKARIOS IS UNLIKELY TO CARRY OUT THIS THREAT IS THAT HE DOES NOT WISH TO CREATE A FORMAL OPPOSITION HEADED BY CLERIDES, HOWEVER SMALL. THE CONFRONTATION OBVIOUSLY HAS NOT BEEN RESOLVED.)

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